

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5933

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PTR, MARR, SP

SUBJECT: SPAIN NATO PLANS FOR SPANISH WAR COLLEGE STUDY

REF: STATE 184647 (DTG 262058Z JUL 76) (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SPANISH WAR COLLEGE (CESEDEN) STUDY THIS FALL OF THE NATO MEMBERSHIP QUESTION PROVIDES AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE SPANISH MILITARY KNOWLEDGE OF THE FULL RANGE OF POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP. THIS TELEGRAM REQUESTS THE ACTIVE COOPERATION OF ALL ADDRESSEES. END SUMMARY.

1. FOR SOME TIME NOW PLANS HAVE BEEN TAKING SHAPE AT CESEDEN (THE NATIONAL DEFENSE STUDIES CENTER -- THE SPANISH EQUIVALENT OF OUR WAR COLLEGE) FOR DEVOTING ITS ANNUAL "MONOGRAPHIC COURSE" THIS OCT DEC TO THE SUBJECT, "THE INTEGRATION OR ASSOCIATION OF SPAIN WITH NATO." AS ORIGINALLY PLANNED, THE COURSE WOULD HAVE BROUGHT TOGETHER SOME 20 MIDDLE TO SENIOR GRADE MILITARY OFFICERS AND CIVILIANS TO STUDY THE SUBJECT, DRAWING ALMOST ENTIRELY ON EXISTING SPANISH RESOURCES AND THEN TO PRODUCE A SERIES OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE HIGH GENERAL STAFF. THE ONLY FOREIGN
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INVOLVEMENT WAS TO HAVE BEEN A POSSIBLE TRIP TO WASHINGTON AT

THE END OF THE COURSE WHERE THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE A POLITICALLY "SAFE" (NO REJECTION NO HIGH POLITICAL PROFILE) OPPORTUNITY TO TEST SOME OF THEIR ACQUIRED VIEWPOINTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF A NATO MEMEBR.

2. A STUDY SO CONSTRUCTED COULD BE FAR LESS THAN IDEAL FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW SHOULD IT PRODUCE LARGELY A REHASHING OF GRIEVANCES AGAINST NATO'S NORTHERN EUROPEAN MEMBERS AND OF THOSE DOUBTS IN CONSIDERABLE SECTORS OF THE SPANISH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT (PARTICULARLY IN THE ARMY LEADERSHIP) ABOUT THE WISDOM OF JOINING THE ALLIANCE. THUS, WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN HERE TO TRY TO ENCOURAGE THE APPROPRIATE SPANISH OFFICIALS TO MAKE THE MOST OF THIS OPPORTUNITY BY ASSURING THAT THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE AVAILABLE TO THEM THE MOST COMPLETE POSSIBLE INFORMATION REGARDING NATO.

3. THE RESPONSE, BOTH FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND FROM THE OFFICERS MOST DIRECTLY INVOLVED AT THE HIGH GENERAL STAFF, AND CESEDEN, HAS BEEN QUITE RECEPTIVE. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, FOR ITS PART, IS ALREADY PLANNING TO HAVE TWO OUTSTANDING DIPLOMATS PARTICIPATE IN THE COURSE (THE PRESENT DIRECTOR OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, DEL PINO, AND APOL/MIL EXPERT FROM THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN PARIS, FERNANDEZ).

4. THE DIRECTOR OF STUDIES AT CESEDEN (VICE ADMIRAL MORENO) HAS AGREED TO PROVIDE US AT THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER WITH A LIST OF AREAS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST CONCERNING WHICH ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION MIGHT BE MOST USEFUL. WE, FOR OUR PART, HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE IN RESPONSE (A) AS MUCH DOCUMENTATION AS POSSIBLE ON THESE TOPICS BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE COURSE ON OCTOBER 4 AND (B) A LIST POTENTIAL SPEAKERS, US AND OTHERS, WHO MIGHT BE ABLE TO COME TO MADRID TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES IN PERSON.

5. WE EXPECT THAT THE EMPHASIS OF THIS LIST OF TOPICS FROM CESEDEN WILL BE MORE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THAN PURELY MILITARY, DESIGNED TO PRODUCE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BALANCE OF OBLIGATIONS AND BENEFITS TO SPAIN OF MEMBERSHIP. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LIST MAY INCLUDE SUCH THINGS AS FINANCIAL COSTS OF MEMBERSHIP IN NATO (INCLUDING INFRASTRUCTURE), JOINT ARMS PRODUCTION POSSIBILITIES, LEGAL/STATUS OF FORCES ARRANGEMENTS, FORCE COMMITMENTS AND THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL CONSULTATION PROCESS, AND SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN NATO.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES, MORENO HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE THE GROUP TO SPEND ABOUT A WEEK IN THE US, PREFERABLY THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER, ALTHOUGH THIS COULD BE ADJUSTED SEVERAL DAYS ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. THE GROUP WOULD BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING BRIEFINGS AT STATE AND DOD,

VISITING NATO RELATED ACTIVITIES AT NORFOLK, AND TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME TOURISM. THE GROUP VISITING THE UNITED STATES WOULD CONSIST OF THE 20 PLUS PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY (INCLUDING 4-5 CIVILIANS), AND SOME 15 PROFESSORS AND STAFF MEMBERS FROM CESEDEN A TOTAL OF 35 TO 40 OFFICIALS. SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP WILL PROBABLY BE OF GENERAL OFFICER RANK.

7. THIS IS THE ONLY VISIT OUTSIDE SPAIN NOW PLANNED FOR THE GROUP AND HIS SEEN BY MORENO AS AN OPPORTUNITY BEFORE THE PARTICIPANTS DRAW UP THEIR FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE HIGH GENERAL STAFF TO TEST THEIR IDEAS WITH A NATO MEMBER. MORENO BELIEVES THE GROUP WILL BE INTERESTED IN INTER ALIA, IN RECEIVING A BROAD REVIEW OF THE FUNCTIONS OF NATO, US POLICIES TOWARD NATO, AND A US ASSESSMENT OF BOTH THE LIKELY CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP FOR SPAIN (NOT ONLY POLITICAL) AND ALLIED ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH MEMBERSHIP. AS THE TITLE OF THE STUDY SUGGESTS THE GROUP WILL ALSO INEVITABLY BE QUITE INTERESTED IN THE POSSIBILITY OF SPANISH "ASSOCIATION" WITH NATO, VICE FULL MEMBERSHIP.

8. WE HAVE SUGGESTED TO MORENO THAT HE MIGHT ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER GIVING THE STUDY A MORE EUROPEAN FOCUS BY INCLUDING VISITS TO EUROPEAN CAPITALS, NATO COMMITTED MILITARY UNITS IN EUROPE ETC. HE IS CONCERNED THAT TO HAVE THE ENTIRE GROUP DO THIS MIGHT BE TOO "POLITICAL" BUT HE HAS UNDERTAKEN TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF SPLITTING THE GROUP FOR SEVERAL SMALL AND INCONSPICUOUS VISITS IN EUROPE, PERHAPS JUST BEFORE OR AFTER THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

9. COMMENT: THE EMBASSY BELIEVES IT TO BE IMPORTANT TO OFFER THE FULLEST POSSIBLE SUPPORT FOR SPANISH AUTHORITIES IN THIS STUDY. THERE EXISTS CONSIDERATION MISINFORMATION ABOUT NATO IN SPANISH MILITARY CIRCLES AND CONSIDERABLE PREJUDICE CONCERNING CONFIDENTIAL

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THE COSTS AND RISKS TO SPAIN OF MEMBERSHIP. AS WE HAVE POINTED OUT IN EARLIER REPORTING, THE NATURE OF A SPANISH MILITARY RECOMMENDATION TODAY ON NATO MEMBERSHIP CANNOT BE GUARANTEED SINCE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE BODY OF SENIOR MILITARY OPINION PARTICULARLY BUT NOT ONLY IN THE ARMY, WHICH DOES NOT BELIEVE NATO MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE IN SPAIN'S INTERESTS. IF WE ALLOW THIS STUDY TO BE COMPLETED WITHOUT A BEST EFFORT TO BRING TO BEAR THE WIDE RANGE OF ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP, WE WILL HAVE LOST A SIGNIFICANT OPPORTUNITY.

10. ACTION REQUEST: WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING BY 1 SEPT (A) SUGGESTIONS FOR VISITS WHICH MIGHT USEFULLY BE MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE STUDY GROUP IN EUROPE, (B) A RECOMMENDED LISTING OF SUBJECTS WHICH THE STUDY SHOULD ADDRESS, AND (C) A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE FOR VISIT BY THE GROUP TO THE UNITED STATES. (IN SEPT

WE WILL BE REQUESTING A LIST OF POTENTIAL SPEAKERS, IN
ACCORDANCE WITH PARA 4 ABOVE.)
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